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ABSTRACT

The main thesis of this paper, which uses Tanzania's broadcasting system--Radio Tanzania Dar Es Salaam (RTD)--as a case study, is that media systems reflect the political and economic systems of the nation within which they operate subject to certain constraints. This discussion includes: (1) the history of the country's broadcasting policy before 1967; (2) a profile of the United Republic of Tanzania in terms of its politics, economy, industries, demography, and culture as well as its education, health services, transportation, and telecommunications systems; (3) a review of the five national broadcasting services (National, Commercial, Schools, External, and News), and the changes in broadcasting policy since 1967 and their effects on programming in Radio Tanzania; and (4) an examination of government instituted controls that have been implemented to ensure that Radio Tanzania reflects national policy. It is concluded that finance, transportation, and telecommunications are the major impediments to Radio Tanzania fulfilling all of its broadcasting policy, and that RTD is fighting against good intentions. (18 references) (CGD)

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NATIONAL POLICIES TOWARDS BROADCASTING IN TANZANIA

by

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Paper presented to the 1986 International Television Studies Conference

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M SAMWILU MWAFFISI

BROADCASTING POLICY BEFORE 1967

Radio broadcasting was introduced to mainland Tanzania in July 1951 by the British colonial administration. According to the administration, radio was intended to serve Africans. Africans, however, believe that broadcasting was introduced as a social amenity for the British colonial expatriates in the country.[1] But since the station transmitted for one hour per week in Swahili, it cannot be argued that broadcasting was aimed at British expatriates because not many of them understood Swahili.

Although the broadcast was in Swahili it served the interests of the British colonial administrator rather than of Africans, who saw broadcasting as a tool in the hands of their colonisers to support the colonial status quo. The real target audience was those African veterans of World War II who during their sojourn in India and Burma, among other places, were exposed to the concept of nationalism. When they returned home most of them joined the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). It was formed in 1929 by African civil servants as a social organisation to aid their self-improvement. This group started using the association as a

base for political agitation. The group was later to be reinforced by a much smaller group of the first university-trained Africans who came to their anti-colonial commitment by a more intellectual process. In 1954, TAA became Tanganyika African Nation Union (TANU) and spearheaded the struggle for independence.

Radio was virtually closed to TANU's campaigns for independence. It was not until 1958 when TANU won the first general elections and it appeared independence was inevitable that TBC started, on a small scale, to broadcast programmes with nationalistic content, but nevertheless independent of political direction.

Most of the influential African veterans lived in Dar es Salaam, and the colonial administration had to find a way of keeping an eye on them. It opened community centres and equipped them with indoor activities. Inexpensive rediffusion sets were also introduced to these centres where the veterans were highly encouraged to spend their leisure time. But in their midst there were always government agents. A radio receiver - the South African made "Saucepan radio" - was then selling for 90 and 160 East African shillings. This amount was quite substantial at that time and only the middle and upper class Africans could afford to own them. The target audience, therefore, was not the ordinary African but those in the middle and upper classes who the colonial administration wanted to control for its own advantage.

In March, 1955, Sauti ya Dar es Salaam (Voice of Dar es Salaam as the first station was called) became Tanganyika

Broadcasting Service (TBS) as a government department. Then in 1956 TBS became the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC), a public corporation modeled on the BBC.

The ordinance that established TBS specified that it was the duty of the corporation to operate and maintain a broadcasting service as a means of information, education and entertainment for the public and to develop the services to the best advantage and interests of the country[2]. The government retained powers to prohibit broadcasting of any matter contrary to the public interest, and the minister responsible for broadcasting was empowered to give the corporation directions on matters concerning the public interest.

Shortly after TBC was established a daily one hour programme in Asian languages - Hindi, Gujerati and Urdu - was started to serve the country's Asian community. But after independence African leaders opposed the idea of any special treatment for language groups and pressured the broadcasting administration at the time to drop Asian languages. That was done during the last quarter of 1962. It was felt that the two languages, English and Swahili, were sufficient as a vehicle for reaching unified Tanganyika and that a multiplicity of language was likely to damage unity[3]. The same argument was later employed against the use of English on the radio. The separate English service was ended in 1970 and incorporated into the External service which could be heard both outside and inside the country. The logic of this move was that, as Tanzanians understood and spoke Swahili, English language broadcasting was for non-Tanzanians. The local

transmission of the External Service was for the many expatriates working in the country who understood little or no Swahili.

Also, soon after TBC was established commercial advertising was introduced in the form of spot announcements on the Swahili and English services. The advertisements were inserted between the main programmes. However, it was soon realised that there was a need for a separate commercial service. In 1965 the TBC commissioned a 100KW medium-wave transmitter and set up a separate commercial service.

When mainland Tanzania achieved independence it committed itself to helping liberation movements fight white minority regimes in central and southern Africa. Therefore, in 1962 TBC started an External Service to serve the liberation movements. The service was at this time a section of the English service. However, in 1967, two 50KW short-wave transmitters were commissioned and a separate External Service was beamed at central and southern Africa.

Though broadcasting made some progress in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the rate of expansion was very low, particularly in the early years after independence. The TANU government was more interested in the development of the daily press than radio broadcasting. Mytton gives five reasons why the national daily press was stressed at the expense of radio broadcasting[4]. Among the reasons is that TBC was constitutionally "above" politics and TANU wanted a medium that would be totally committed to its goals.

TBC was financed partly by commercial advertisements and fees, and partly by subventions from the colonial government and later the TANU government. But these were not enough because even before independence, the corporation's shaky finances drew criticism and demands for more direct control of broadcasting. Members of Parliament and other politicians outside the House also questioned the right of TBC to speak independently and impartially about the nation's policy. Although the Act that established TBC gave it freedom of expression, politicians felt that once the government had decided on a policy the matter should not be discussed further, especially not on the radio.

By 1964 the government wanted to use radio to reinforce national development and hinted at the possibility of taking over radio. The minister responsible for information services said that in America and Europe where people have ways of getting food and shelter radio can be used for entertainment, but in Tanzania, where the people are fighting a war to raise their standard of living, they must use radio for the benefit of all[5]. It was not until March 1965 that the minister introduced in the National Assembly the TBC Dissolution Bill which was passed on July 1, 1965, establishing Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam. The takeover of broadcasting by the government did not have a significant impact on broadcasting despite the stated new role of mobilising the people in the fields for nation-building. It is after the Arusha Declaration, a period that will be dealt with later in this paper, that the pervasive influence of TANU made its impact on broadcasting.

NATIONAL ENVIRONMENT FOR BROADCASTING

The United Republic of Tanzania was established on April 26, 1964, following the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The country's major policy is socialism and self-reliance as stipulated in the Arusha Declaration. Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) is constitutionally the sole political party in the country and supreme to the government.

The country's income per capita is about $280. Agriculture is the backbone of the economy, with nearly 94.5 percent of the population gaining a living from the land. It accounts for more than 40 percent of the gross domestic product. Industrial output accounts for less than 10 percent of the gross domestic product. After the Arusha Declaration, the government took over the major industrial establishments. Though the economy is state controlled, considerable private sector activities, especially in small scale enterprises and foreign investment, are still permitted and encouraged.

The rest of the gross domestic product comes from other economic ventures, top among them being livestock, forestry, fisheries, tourism and financial institutions.

The population of Tanzania is 20 million, of whom about 94.5 percent live in rural areas. The birth rate is 4.7 percent, but 25 percent of the children die during the first five years of life. Life expectancy is 47 years, with almost half of the population under 15 years of age.

There are 120 tribes, each of which differs in varying degrees from the others in culture, social organisation and language. Swahili is a second language for most Tanzanians, with one of the 120 tribal languages being the first. It is the official language and medium of instruction in primary schools. English is mostly used for international relations and is the medium of instruction in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning.

Education for Self-reliance, a white-paper published in April 1967, changed the colonial system of education which was seen to produce social classes and was not in tune with the country's realities. Among other things, Education for Self-reliance put emphasis on primary education for everyone, though secondary and higher education continue to expand. In 1977 a start was made in providing universal primary education for all children of school going age. The result has been an increase in the number of children attending primary schools. However, only two percent of primary school leavers are able to receive secondary education. That is why Education for Self-Reliance also puts emphasis on technical and agricultural training. At present 85 percent of the Tanzanian adult population is literate compared to 15 percent at the time of independence.

Tanzania was slow to change the direction of its health services toward meeting the needs of the people in the rural areas. After independence, it spent all its resources on big urban hospitals and preventive medicine. As a result of this new

emphasis, mass education campaigns have continuously been conducted so that people understand what they can do to help themselves.

The transportation and telecommunication systems are very poor. Due to shortage of foreign currency to import spare parts and fuel, and the poor condition of roads, railways and aeroplanes, the transportation sector has constant interruptions. Telecommunication system is urban oriented. In 1980 there were a total of 44,000 direct lines to 100,000 telephones in mainland Tanzania, but 42 percent of the lines were in Dar es Salaam while 41 percent were in 20 regional capitals, leaving only 17 percent of lines for the rural areas, where most people live. Most small towns and all villages have virtually no access to telecommunication facilities.

BROADCASTING POLICY AFTER 1967

We noted earlier in this paper that the take over of broadcasting by the government in 1965 did not bring about change in broadcasting policy. However, a statement issued in 1979 by Radio Tanzania specified the new broadcasting policy that came into effect after the Arusha Declaration[6]. The new broadcasting policy, therefore, aimed at achieving six goals: (a) support the country's policy, (b) build socialism and self-reliance, (c) participate in the liberation of Africa, (d) promote African unity, (e) promote world peace and justice, (f) adhere to the non-alignment policy.

We examine the five services: National, Commercial, Schools, External and News to ascertain how the change of policy affected programming in Radio Tanzania.

NATIONAL SERVICE

In 1968 the National Service was on air for 13 hours daily dueing weekdays and 17 hours during weekends. About 60 percent of the total airtime was devoted to music and light entertainment. The nontraditional music programmes featured both local and foreign bands and artists. In December 1975, however, foreign music was banned from the National Service to promote local music and artists. The ban was also meant to curb foreign influence on local culture. It was found that more Western and Zairean music was being played than local music.

Air time devoted to current affairs and feature programmes increased over time, and the scope of the programmes widened. In 1968 only four programmes of 15 minutes each were featured and all of them comprised reviews of weekly events. By the 1980s, current affairs and feature programmes had both weekly reviews of major events, and news and information. The number of programmes for women and children has increased over time. In 1968, women had only one 30-minute weekly programme which was repeated once, and children had only one 30-minute weekly programme that was aired only once. By 1981 women had two 30-minute programmes, each repeated once. The programme was extended to 45 minutes by 1984. A 45-minute musical request programme specifically for women also was added by 1984. Accompanying the requests are messages of

concern to women: baby food, clothing, etc.

The children's programmes increased from one a week in 1968 to three by 1984. Children and Mother and Children are 30 minutes each. In Children the children sing songs, tell stories and sayings. The producer then asks them questions based on the performance. The songs are mostly political, and the stories and sayings also include cultural values and social norms. The question-and-answer sessions are meant to socialise the children into political, cultural and social norms. In Mother and Children the female producer, acting as mother, plays a major role in passing to the children the cultural values and social norms. The third programme, Aunt Chei-Chei is for pre-primary school children. Its form is similar to Children.

The air time devoted to drama has remained the same over time. Play of the Week is a 30-minute weekly radio drama that is repeated once. All the plays are improvised, acted and recorded in RTD studios. The dominant themes of the plays are social and political. Although air time for Play of the Week has not increased, by 1981 15-minute dramatised educational programmes had been introduced. Ngonjera is a dramatisation of poetry. The recent themes included forestry, cleanliness, modern and traditional storage theories, the causes and prevention of drought. Mahoka (Jokes) and Pwagu and Pwagusi are two 15-minute programmes that dramatise current issues in Tanzania.

In 1968 there was a 15-minute weekly sports report on Sundays and a 45-minute programme on Monday, a total of one hour. By 1981

sports had 2.45 hours a week, consisting of a daily 15-minute programme and a weekly 30-minute programme. The increase of hours for sports reflects the emphasis the party and government put on sports as a means of achieving national unity and communal attitudes as reflected in the Arusha Declaration. Only a few months after the Arusha Declaration, the National Sports Council was established to oversee all sports activities in the country to ensure that they are conducted in a manner that would achieve the desired objectives.

The greatest change in broadcasting programming has been the increasing use of radio for adult education. The adult education programmes are an outgrowth of the emphasis on basic adult education outlined in the first and second five-year development plan, the Arusha Declaration and Adult Education Year in 1970. The challenge to educate the adults was accepted by many national organisations which started in-service adult education classes. But these courses left untouched the rural peasants who form the largest and most important part of the population. Adult education broadcasting received more emphasis and its policy became more clearly defined after the Arusha Declaration.

By 1981 the National Service had 26 adult education programmes per week, seven programmes of 30 minutes each and 19 of 15 minutes each. All but one were repeated once. After the Arusha Declaration no distinction was made between educational and political programmes. As a result adult education programmes have incorporated political content reflecting the philosophy of socialism and self-reliance.

Radio adult education campaigns started in earnest in 1967 when the Cooperative College in the northern Tanzanian town of Moshi began a series called Learn Cooperative to teach organisational skills to its members via radio study groups and correspondence. It was not until 1969 that the Institute of Adult Education started radio adult education campaigns at the national level. It had five such campaigns between 1969 and 1975.

Kupanga ni Kuchagua was aimed at encouraging people, especially in rural areas, to study the second five-year development plan in order to understand Tanzania's problems and how they should be faced. Uchaguzi Ni Wako (The Choice Is Yours) was aimed at stimulating participation in the 1970 general elections. Wakati wa Furaha (Time for Rejoicing) was aimed at raising people's awareness of the nation's history, development and achievements since independence, and thus make them see December 9, 1971, the tenth anniversary of independence, as truly a time to rejoice.

Mtu Ni Afya (Man is Health) was aimed at providing information about the causes, symptoms and spread of common diseases and how they might be prevented, and increasing awareness of individual and group measures which might improve local health conditions. Chakula Ni Uhai (Food Is Life) was aimed at raising the level of functional literacy about the nutritional value of various foods, and methods to obtain a balanced diet on a limited budget, and eliminating various food taboos and improper habits regarding food. Coldevin and Matiko noted that these campaigns

reached many people and were effective in imparting knowledge to the intended audience[7].

Since 1976, RTD has continued mass adult education campaigns though not as elaborate as the five just mentioned. The campaigns now are based on annual themes declared by the party, which mostly follow those declared by the UN General Assembly the previous year. The UN International Year of the Child was followed by the National Year of the Disabled, etc. During the national year, RTD highlights national issues related to the theme.

Another characteristic of the National Service is the new policy of trying to reach the rural areas. There has been quite a substantial increase in the number of rural oriented programmes. To build up its rural content, RTD stopped relying solely on regional government information officers. Instead it started sending teams of producers to the regions to record programmes. RTD would like to send producers to more regions more often, but financial constraints limit the number of trips they can make. It costs roughly Tsh 60,000 ($530) to send a seven-man team consisting of two drivers, three producers and two technicians on a 30-day trip to one region[8].

To supplement the trips as a source of rural programmes, RTD decided to station producers and newsmen at its booster stations. By 1984 there were newsmen and producers stationed at Arusha, Dodoma, Mwanza, Kigoma, Mbeya and Songea. The ultimate aim is to have a newsman and producer in each of the six towns and in Mongoro. These will be the headquarters of seven zonal production

centres whose objective will be to provide better programmes for the rural audience and to involve that audience in the production and presentation of programmes.

Prior to the Arusha Declaration the high proportion of music on the National Service may have raised questions about broadcast policy in Tanzania. By 1984, there was no question about the policy. Broadcasting is, first and foremost, a tool for mass education.

COMMERCIAL SERVICE

The Commercial Service was commissioned in 1965 as a purely commercial venture aimed at the entire Swahili speaking population of East Africa. It broadcast mostly music and light entertainment. Its main objective was to raise money to supplement inadequate government subventions and license fees for broadcasting operations. But advertising raised questions about the role of the broadcasting service even before the Arusha Declaration. The Corporation was required by the law which established it to operate a broadcasting station as a means of education, information and entertainment for the public and to develop the service to the best advantage of the territory. The desire for advertising revenues, if pursued too vigourously, might well put those aims at risk.

The commissioning of a separate commercial service in 1965 was an attempt to resolve this conflict. The conflict persisted, however, for the service competed with the National Service rather

than supplementing it. Unlike the National Service, the Commercial Service took some time after the Arusha Declaration to change its characteristics. In 1968, more than 65 per cent of the air time was devoted to music. By 1972, it still remained a medium of light entertainment, mostly popular music, sponsored commercial features and competitions.

After the Arusha Declaration, the Commercial Service was charged with the responsibility of promoting locally manufactured goods and motivating people to buy them. By the end of the 1970s, it was also supplementing the National Service by introducing educative programmes. A circular issued in 1979 said that Commercial Service programmes must conform with the country's policy and must, therefore, supplement rather than compete with the National Service[9]. However, in addition to supplementing the National Service in offering mass education, Commercial Service was also required to promote the use of local commercial services and products.

Three steps were taken to achieve this. The broadcasting hours for Commercial Service were reduced from 56 per week in 1968 to the present 50. There were two assumptions: that when the Commercial Service is off the air, people would tune in to National Service, and even when the Commercial Service is on air, since it contains educational programmes, the educational role of broadcasting is still maintained.

In 1979 RTD stopped hiring advertising agents in order to save money and also to ensure that advertising conform with the

new policy. Advertisers were required to deal directly with Radio Tanzania. Henceforth, before signing a contract, RTD must know the aim of the commercial programme, what kinds of products will be advertised during the entire period of the contract, and the people who will be responsible for the broadcasts. RTD started having regular meetings with advertisers. The meetings are held at least twice a year to exchange ideas on how both sides could best achieve desired objectives.

The programming also was changed. Commercial programmes with educational messages and themes were introduced. For example, Sales and Service is a 30-minute interview programme during which a businessman is interviewed about his business. He pays for the spot advertisements but the interview is regarded as a public service. There and There is a music programme that follows routes of airlines. An airline, such as SAS or Air India, pays for spot advertisements and the producer plays music of the countries the airline flies to and gives information about the countries concerned.

The emphasis now is not on spot advertisements, rather on 15- to 30-minute sponsored programmes during which the advertiser not only promotes his service or products, but also educates the listeners about his other activities. Such programmes are mostly sponsored by public institutions and parastatals.

Air time devoted to music was not only reduced, but most of the music programmes were given an educational base. For example, Muziki wa Asili is a 30-minute programme of traditional music

during which the producer tells about a tribe's culture, history, agriculture and the occasion when the song is usually sung. There are also spot advertisements for farm implements. Welcome Youths is a request programme for youths. In addition to the music requested, it contains discussions, interviews with youths on current issues especially of concern to them, a quiz and letters. Music of Africa is a programme of music from different parts of Africa accompanied by information about the respective countries.

Though foreign music is allowed on the Commercial Service, programmes produced by RTD are required to have Tanzanian music only. Since most of the songs by local bands are either political or have social and cultural values, the educational role of broadcasting is maintained. Only sponsored programmes are free to have as much foreign music as sponsors wish. But as Tanzanians, they are also encouraged to play more local music.

All advertising sponsors now come from within the country. RTD cancels commercial programmes to accommodate party and government functions or speeches of national leaders. Though this is a breach of commercial contracts, RTD's clients are aware of this problem and there is a mutual understanding between them and RTD to get extra air time at the end of the contract for the lost air time[10].

With the nationalisation of private businesss in 1967 as a result of the Arusha Declaration, fewer and fewer local and outside advertisers used the Commercial Service. This resulted in a sharp decline in revenue.

The situation became worse with the collapse of the East African Community in 1977 and the subsequent closure of the border between Tanzania and Kenya. The revenue of the Commercial Service has, however, been increasing steadily since 1979/80, surpassing the target set by the government.

The main contributing factor to the increase has been the policy of the government since 1977 supporting the expansion of existing private enterprises and the establishment of new ones. Prior to that, employees were so frequently transferred to and from the service that those who worked there lacked not only training but also experience. RTD also started looking beyond Dar es Salaam for advertisers. The producers stationed in the regions started exploiting the potential of local commerce.

The Commercial Service is no long purely profit motivated. By 1984 it had become a service primarily for educating and promoting local commercial services and products. Even the music programmes now have educational bases.

SCHOOL BROADCASTS

During school term, the National Service broadcasts to schools. The radio section of the Education Ministry is responsible for schools broadcasts. School broadcasts reflect the changes that have taken place in the education system of the country. Before the Arusha Declaration, school broadcasts

emphasised imparting knowledge as a commodity which gave the possessor not only a market value but also a class consciousness. The broadcast subjects, therefore, were English, Swahili, general science, geography and history. The intention was to produce students with a wider outlook on the world. There were also non-curricular subjects such as health education.

In secondary schools the emphasis was on dramatisation of textbooks. Since the school certificate exams were set in Cambridge, England, the textbooks used were either set by Cambridge examiners or recommended by them.

Following the publication of 'Education for Self-Reliance', agriculture became the basic educational concern in schools. 'Education for Self-Reliance' states categorically that agriculture in schools should not be considered as one more academic subject on the timetable but requires that it be a practical subject. Students must be involved practically in its methodology and managerial activities so that the experience acquired in managing, accounting or organising, marketing, and planning will help them when they become farmers themselves,

Since textbooks on agriculture were not yet easily available in schools, and the few available were in English whereas Swahili is the medium for instruction, schools broadcasts substituted for agricultural textbooks. Presentation, however, was a problem since teaching agriculture by radio, like teaching science by radio, is limited by the absence of visual demonstration. To solve this problem, agricultural radio broadcasts dramatised

successful endeavours in agriculture and gave documentary reports of achievements. Dramatisation did not prove a successful way of imparting agricultural skills because it lacked reality. The Ministry of Education, therefore, collaborated with the Ministry of Agriculture to get tapes based on real-life situations. Agricultural information officers recorded peasants talking about their daily agricultual activities, i.e. their success, failures and problems.

The school terms were reduced from three to two and adjusted to coincide with planting and harvesting seasons. The primary schools broadcast is for two hours, daily for five days. The broadcasts are for Classes IV to VII. Both academic and non-curricular subjects are broadcast. But the content of the academic subjects has been localised. The emphasis is on Tanzania and then Africa.

Secondary school broadcasts are for only one hour on weekdays. There has been a shift of emphasis in the direction of civics, science and technology. The emphasis is on achievement as an inspiration to budding scientists rather than on formal teaching of science.

Although school broadcasts are compulsory for schools, one of the most serious problems now facing them is lack of receivers. As one letter to a newspaper indicates:

> It is common knowledge that our schools have no radios, and yet here we have school radio programmes being aired when we know that they do not reach the target audience[11].

The research section is the only means of feedback. But it requires strengthening, for at the moment it consists of a panel of teachers who meet, not regularly, to comment on various programmes. Head teachers and headmasters are required to submit their evaluation of school broadcasts to the panel. Their reports, however, have been superficial and restricted to general comments which are of little use. In general, the school broadcasts have had haphazard development and there are plans to seek UN assistance to expand and upgrade the service.

EXTERNAL SERVICE

The External Service was started in 1962 primarily to assist in the liberation of central and southern African countries that were still under colonial or minority regimes. It was on air daily for two hours starting at 2000 hours. The service is on air 60 hours a week, and in addition to assisting the liberation of South Africa and Namibia, it portrays Tanzania beyond its borders and strengthens good relations with neighbours. It also broadcasts to local English-speaking listeners.

Air time devoted to the liberation of Africa has decreased over time, from 14 hours a week in 1968 to 10.5 in 1984, reflecting the changed political scene in central and southern Africa. In 1968, about eight liberation movements were making use of the service. But by 1984 only three movements were still making use of it.

In addition to the liberation programmes from the three organisations, RTD has its own liberation programmes. For example, Sing for Freedom is a 15-minute programme featuring songs from liberations movements. With only Namibia and South Africa remaining independent, the role of the External Service will have to change. The head of the service said that in future the External Service will have to broadcast more about Tanzania and Africa than it is doing now[12].

The 1984 time schedule reflects the new emphasis on reporting Tanzania and Africa. Air time for adult education, current affairs and features has increased over time, bringing in more programmes reflecting the country's policy.

Ujamaa - The Rational Choice is a programme explaining the policy of socialism and self-reliance. Spotlight on Tanzania focuses mainly on socio-economic development activities in the country. Agriculture Today and Rural Development reflect the agricultural sector and socio-economic developments in rural areas. Radio Magazine highlights the major weekly events in Tanzania. Africa is covered in specific programmes like UN Africa, which is about the activities of the UN and its agencies in Africa. Africa Today is a feature programme on socio-economic development in Africa whereas Africa This Week is a weekly review of major events on the continent.

Radio Tanzania does receive foreign programmes which are used on both the External and National Services. Only programmes that are relevant to Tanzania are used either wholly or as inserts.

Most of the programmes used are educational and cultural. No ideological programmes, regardless of where they come from, are used. In 1984, for example, Radio Tanzania received 158 programmes from the Voice of America and used 51 wholly and 10 as inserts. Of the 51 programmes, 41 were Your Health Family and the remaining ten included The World of Science and Agriculture News. From Radio Moscow, 17 programmes were received and none were used. All the UN programmes, except special features, are used wholly. These programmes include United Nations This Week, Scope, Perspective and Mwangaza wa Umoja Wa Mataifa (The Light of United Nations). The use of special features wholly depends on the relevance of the topic to Tanzania.

NEWS

Air time devoted to news increased from five hours a week in 1968 to 14 hours in 1984. The news analysis that follows is based on a 1985 study by the author[13].

Radio Tanzania has, over the years, increased its local news sources. In the past, the only sources of national news outside Dar es Salaam were the regional government information officers. Now it has its own reporters who cover Dar es Salaam and correspondents who are stationed in the six towns mentioned earlier. It also sends a reporter to cover most of the international conferences, especially whn a high-ranking Tanzanian delegation attends the conference.

For international news Radio Tanzania subscribes to three

major news agencies - Reuters, AFP and Tass. Both the English and Swahili services relied on the Tanzania News Agency (SHIHATA) for about a third of their reports. Another third came from Reuters. Tass was the least used foreign agency. The chief news editor, Kassim Penda, says Reuters is the most used foreign agency because it is "reliable" and fast in filing stories whereas Tass is slow and its stories are highly editorialised[14]. According to Mpenda, the major problem that Radio Tanzania encounters in using foreign news agencies is the difference in news bias. But it tries to solve this problem by being very selective of the incoming stories and re-writing almost all that are used. This works effectively with Radio Tanzania because of the controls described later in this paper. The heavy reliance on Western agencies for foreign news, however, runs counter to Radio Tanzania's policy of diversifying news sources as stipulated in the non-aligned and UNESCO resolutions on the New International Information Order to which Tanzania is a signatory.

Radio Tanzania devotes most of its attention to Tanzania, and after this to Africa as a whole. If we add to the African items the UN reports, European and American reports relevant to Africa, we see that the listener's awareness of Africa should be greater than his knowledge of the other regions of the world. Such continental attention is consistent with the party's and government's support for African unity and liberation. A spirit of community among the socialist and Third World nations is expressed in many of the reports, despite the disadvantage of news source. The almost equal coverage of Eastern and Western Europe reflects the neutrality of Tanzania in the cold war between the

two super powers. Reports on the cold war were totally missing. But efforts of the two powers to work together towards world peace were reported.

Development journalism is the guiding principle of Radio Tanzania. Its emphasis, therefore, is on development news. Political news was, however, the biggest category for both the Swahili and English bulletins. Altogether 38 percent of the stories dealt with politics, especially relations between states, and diplomatic and political activities between states. Economic affairs comprised the second biggest category. The most frequently reported economic affairs were agriculture, followed by industrial projects or development. Stories on international economic aid also received wide coverage (6 percent). Only 1 percent of the reports were on disasters.

One of the areas where Radio Tanzania has failed to implement its policy is the coverage of political leaders and ordinary people. Despite the directive that activities of ordinary people should be given wider coverage than those of leaders, activities and speeches of leaders still dominate the reports. Problems of communication, transportation and shortages of recording equipment are mainly responsible for this.

REGULATING BROADCASTING

In order to ensure that Radio Tanzania reflects the national policy, the party and government has instituted a number of controls. There is no official communication policy in Tanzania.

But the "Socialist Paper for the People"[15] is taken for one. Its most salient features are support for Tanzania's socialist ideology as defined in the Arusha Declaration, and reinforcing the party and government efforts in nation building. Broadcasting operates within the boundaries spelled out in the "Socialist Paper for the People". Also, RTD can sue or be sued, although someone who wants to sue it must obtain the consent of the minister of justice according to section 9 of the Government Proceeding Acts of 1967. Therefore, in addition to operating within the boundaries defined by the Government and the party, RTD also operates within the constraints of slander laws. An executive of RTD noted that the station is "absolutely free as long as it operates within the laws of the country"[16].

The prime element in traditional discussions of mass media control and the role of mass media in political systems has been the question of ownership. amd thus funding. Private ownership has been equated with less control whereas public or state ownership is equated with more control. RTD is financed wholly by the government through budgetary allocations from the parent ministry. A member of Parliament summed up the control well when he said "As the Scots say, we are paying the bagpiper and we have the right to call for the tune"[17].

All employees of RTD are civil servants and are, therefore, governed more by civil service regulations than professional codes. Staff joining RTD sign civil service forms which, among other things, pledge allegiance to the Government and the civil service regulations. When one gets promoted to the rank of

officer, one is given another civil service form to sign in which, among other things, one is sworn to the Secrecy Act that requires all officers not to disclose secret information that might come to them by virtue of their office. The contradiction between the civil service regulations and the professional norms are obvious. As a broadcasting professional the officer is supposed to have a "nose for news", but as a civil servant he is not supposed to disclose the news. Though the Act has never been used against a broadcaster, its existence is enough to make an officer play it safe.

In addition to being civil servants, most of the broadcasters are also party members. They are members of the political establishment. They owe their allegiance to the party and the government. They know, therefore, that advancing their professional careers depends as much on their effectiveness as professionals as on their usefulness to the existing power structure.

The Party, through its Mass Media Committee, controls broadcasting. Its primary concern is the ideological and political content of information, the Mass Media Committee organises biannual seminars for senior personnel from Party and government information departments. The Party has ideological colleges which run 3-month and 9-month courses. It has reserved openings for media personnel, mostly senior and media level, to attend these courses. The party frequently invites senior media personnel to participate in political seminars organised by the party, and likewise the media invite cadres to their seminars and workshops.

The Director of Broadcasting and the Chief News Editor are ex-officio members of the Mass Media Committee and the National Executive Committee of the Party. By sitting on these committees and through frequent contacts with policy makers, in addition to attending the political seminars, they are able to effectively influence transmission of national policy, disseminate necessary information and put a proper interpretation on events of the day. Senior broadcasters, therefore, become so much socialised into the party's ideology that they develop a sixth sense of what should or should not be broadcast. This is self-censorship. A senior RTD personnel wrote:

> It must also be noted that most, if not all the senior officers of RTD are party members who are expected to understand party's thinking as well as the government's and make appropriate decisions in their day-to-day work.[18]

Official briefings also act as a control mechanism. They are usually given by senior officials and attended by senior broadcasters. When they are given by the president, prime minister and their like it is usually the broadcasting executives who attend. During the briefings the broadcasters are normally given background information and the official policy on the issue. On international issues, briefings help broadcasters to guard against bias in international wire service stories. They enable them to edit the stories in a way that would confirm with the official policy or simply "spike" them, notwithstanding their newsworthiness.

On national issues, briefings give broadcasters a sense of direction in their reporting. They know what to play up and what

to downplay, they know how to guard against destructive elements and/or leaders who might use the radio to serve their interests. Clearly, while the official briefings widen the understanding of senior broadcasters on the issues, they influence their decision on what to broadcast and what to omit.

Broadcasting executives also receive outside pressure, mostly from political leaders, to either change a story or not to broadcast it. On some occasions the executives refuse to bow to such pressure, especially when it comes from not very senior leaders; however, more often than not, especially when the leader is a very senior official such as principal secretary or a minister, the executives cave in and order broadcasters to amend or kill a story. External pressure creates such a chilling effect on broadcasting executives that they develop an anticipatory avoidance mechanism. That is, over time they come to understand such pressure and therefore give in sufficiently and in advance to avoid it.

CONCLUSION

This paper focused on the thesis that media systems reflect the political and economic systems of the nation within which they operate. We used the broadcasting system in Tanzania as a case study. We hypothesised that the broadcasting system would reflect the socio-economic and political policy of Tanzania, subject to certain constraints. By 1984, programming had greatly reflected the official policy, but its full implementation was hindered by certain constraints.

Finance is the most severe constraint affecting Radio Tanzania. The shortage of funds greatly limits what RTD covers. Its failure to send broadcasters to the regions as often as it would want results in disproportionate attention given to urban, rather than rural coverage. An acute shortage of transportation and of recording equipments greatly affects reporting, even in Dar Es Salaam. Sometimes stories are not covered because either there is no transportation or there is not enough recording equipment, especially when events take place almost at the same time. When that happens, priority is usually given to political events involving national leaders.

Financial constraints are the major impediments to Radio Tanzania having its own foreign correspondents in the immediate future. Once it had a stringer in Nairobi, but had to stop using his service because of foreign exchange problems. Western wire agencies, therefore, will for a long time remain its major source of foreign news.

The financial constraints coupled with national problems of the transportation and telecommunications systems have prevented RTD from fulfilling part of its broadcasting policy. It can rightly be concluded that Radio Tanzania Dar Es Salaam is fighting against good intentions.

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